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Eloquence and wit:
Col. Robt. G. Ingersoll...
Chicago
1896

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INSPIRES TO LOYALTY!

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52 William St., New York.



, Robert G. Ingersoll Addresses a Great
West Side Audience.

1894

LIBRARY OF
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SOUND CURRENCY COMMITTEE,
52 William St., New York.

ELOQUENCE AND WIT.

COL. ROBT. G. INGERSOLL

The Distinguished Orator Ably Defends the
Republican Policy of Protection.

FALLACIES ARE EXPOSED.

TWENTY THOUSAND PERSONS HEAR AND APPLAUD
HIS PATRIOTIC AND THRILLING WORDS.

CHICAGO:

JOHN F. HIGGINS,  136-8 CLARK STREET.

1896.

July 24, 1874
Robt. G. Ingersoll Discusses Republican Issues.

"This world will see but one Ingersoll."

Such was the terse, laconic, yet potent utterance that came spontaneously from a celebrated statesman whose head is now pillowed in the dust of death, as he stood in the lobby of the old Burnet House in Cincinnati after the famous Republican Convention in that city in 1876, at which Colonel Robert G. Ingersoll made that powerful speech nominating Blaine for the Presidency, one which is read and reread today, and will be read in the future, as an example of the highest art of the platform.

That same sentiment in thought, emotion or vocal expression emanated from upward of 20,000 citizens last night who heard the eloquent and magic Ingersoll in the great tent stretched near the corner of Sacramento avenue and Lake street as he expounded the living gospel of true Republicanism.

The old warhorse, silvered by long years of faithful service to his country, aroused the same all-pervading enthusiasm as he did in the campaigns of Grant and Hayes and Garfield.

He has lost not one whit, not one iota of his striking physical presence, his profound reasoning, his convincing logic, his rollicking wit, his grandiloquence—in fine, all the graces of the orator of old, re-enforced by increased patriotism and the ardor of the call to battle for his country, are still his in the fullest measure.

PLEADS FOR HIS COUNTRY.

Ingersoll in his powerful speech at Cincinnati, spoke in behalf of a friend; last night he plead for his country. In 1876 he eulogized a man; last night, twenty years afterward, he upheld the principles of democratic government. Such was the difference in his theme; the logic, the eloquence of his utterances was the more profound in the same ratio.

He came to the ground floor of human existence and talked as man to man. His patriotism, be it religion, sentiment, or that lofty spirit inseparable from man's soul, is his life. Last night he sought to inspire those who heard him with the same loyalty, and he succeeded.

Those passionate outbursts of eloquence, the wit that fairly

se nullated, the logic as inexorable as heaven's decrees, his rich rhetoric and immutable facts driven straight to his hearers with the strength of bullets, aroused applause that came as spontaneous as sunlight.

Now eliciting laughter, now silence, now cheers, the great orator, with the singular charm of presence, manner and voice, swayed his immense audience at his own volition. His speech will be regarded as one of the grandest efforts of this campaign, and his presence on a Western platform will be fully appreciated by the champions of the Republican party in the Mississippi Valley. Packed with potency was every sentence, each word a living thing, and with them he flayed financial heresy, laid bare the dire results of free trade, and exposed the dangers of Populism.

BIG TENT WAS PACKED.

It was an immense audience that greeted him. The huge tent was packed from center-pole to circumference, and thousands went away because they could not gain entrance. The houses in the vicinity were beautifully illuminated and decorated.

Colonel Ingersoll and a committee of prominent Republicans arrived at the tent at 8 o'clock.

Senator Daniel Campbell called the meeting to order and introduced the presiding officer of the evening, William P. McCabe. The chairman, in a brief but forcible speech, presented Colonel Ingersoll to the vast audience. As the old veteran of rebellion days arose from his seat one prolonged, tremendous cheer broke forth from the 20,000 throats. It was fully fifteen minutes before the great orator could begin to deliver his address, as those to the far left or right or behind the stand were determined to see him, and kept up a tumult until Chairman McCabe appealed to their good judgment and the noise subsided.

Among those on the platform were: F. E. Coyne, J. R. B. Van Cleave, Adam Wolf, Congressman Lorimer, Roy O. West, Wm. Penn Nixon, Fred M. Blount, Henry Hertz, Frank Gilbert, Daniel Campbell, Dr. T. N. Jamieson, L. H. Mack, William Cooke, Ernest Magerstadt, Charles F. Holman, Fred S. Baird, George E. White, E. W. Stanwood, Justice Bloom and Justice Severson.

MR. McCABE'S INTRODUCTORY.

In his introductory speech Mr. McCabe said:

"Friends and Fellow Citizens: When I look over this sea of faces I am forcibly reminded that a crisis now confronts us, which has brought out the representative American citizen to-night to consider and hear a way by which the dangers which confront our Nation can be averted, and the confusion resulting from the claims that have been put forward by disorganizers and disturbers may be forever ended to the glory of the national Union that we all so much love. The first shot that was fired at Fort Sumter in 1861 inflamed the patriotism which was not extinguished until the last shackle was melted by its fervid

heat from the limb of the last slave which will ever be seen in free America.

"In 1896, when we see disorganizers, anarchists, persons who professionally are engaged in stirring up trouble among the people of these United States, the patriotic part of the people again responds to the call for the preservation of the honor of the Union, and such magnificent audiences as this gives us proof that the word repudiation shall never be connected with the history of our country.

"I have no set speech to make tonight in return to you for the honor that you have done me. My duty is to introduce to you one whose big heart and big brain is filled with love and patriotic care for the things that concern the country he fought for and loved so well. I now have the honor of introducing to you Hon. Robert G. Ingersoll."

MR. INGERSOLL SPOKE AS FOLLOWS:

FELLOW CITIZENS—Again we are on the field of battle, where thought contends with thought, the field of battle where facts are bullets and arguments are swords.

Again we appeal to the good sense, to the conscience, to the patriotism of the American people. This is our country, and we are responsible for the administration. We cannot throw the responsibility on any monarch or on any party, and we are responsible for what our country does.

We are responsible for the policy adopted, and if our country is dishonest, the brand of repudiation will be on every American brow. [Applause.] We are responsible for our country, and it is the duty of every American citizen, when about to exercise and use the prerogative of a king, to examine the questions presented, it is his duty to arrive at a conclusion, without prejudice, without hatred, and then it is his duty to discharge that obligation according as he believes is for the best interests of the people of the United States.

All I wish is to appeal to your good sense. I want to appeal to the reason you have, not to your prejudices, not to your hatred, but to your brain, to your conscience, to your patriotism, to your wisdom. I admit that all the parties who disagree with me are honest. Large masses of mankind are always honest, the leader not always, but the mass of people do what they believe to be right. Consequently there is no argument in abuse, nothing calculated to convince in calumny. To be kind, to be candid is far nobler, far better, and far more American. We live in a Democracy, and we admit that every other human

being has the same right to think, the same right to express his thought, the same right to vote that we have [applause], and I want every one who hears me to vote in exact accord with his sense, to cast his vote in accordance with his conscience. I want every one to do the best he can for the great republic, and no matter how he votes, if he is honest, I shall find no fault.

SHOULD THINK INDEPENDENTLY.

But the great thing is to understand what you are going to do; the great thing is to use the little sense that we have. In most of us the capital is small, and it ought to be turned often. [Laughter and applause.] We ought to pay attention, we ought to listen to what is said, think, think for ourselves.

Now, my friends, there are three great questions in this campaign submitted to the American people, three great questions that we are to decide, and the first is the money question, the second the tariff, and the third whether this is a Government of law, or whether there is an appeal from the Supreme Court to a mob.

Then we have to make our choice. We have to choose between men; we have to choose between parties. And, first, let us take up the money question. And let us begin at bed rock. I am going to give you the ideas and facts that have influenced me, believing that what will influence me will influence an average American citizen. [Applause.] And the first thing to be right about, if you are a Republican, and the first thing to be wrong about, if you are a Democrat, is the definition of money. What is money? In the first place money is the product of nature; money is a part of nature. No man ever made or created money. It is beyond the power of Legislatures and Congresses. It is beyond the power of the human race. Money is not made. It has to be found.

Now, remember that. Money is not something that men can create. It is something that man must find. It is a part of nature. And what else? Money is something that does not have to be redeemed. Money is the redeemer. [Applause.] Anything that has to be bolstered up with the promise of an individual or a nation is not money. Greenbacks are not money. They are promises to pay money. A national bank bill is not money. It is a promise to pay money. Nothing that a government can print—no matter what picture it may put upon it, no matter what words—"In God We

Trust"—it is not money; it is simply a promise to pay. Now, then, that is money. And yet there are thousands and thousands of people who believe that a nation can create money. A nation can no more create money by law than it can create corn and wheat and barley by law [applause], and the promise to pay money is no nearer money than a bill of fare is a dinner. [Continued laughter and applause.]

WHAT A DOLLAR IS.

Now, the next question is, What is a dollar? There are many statesmen going over the country making speeches from the tail end of trains [laughter], and not one of them knows what a dollar is. Not one of them knows what money is. What is a dollar? I can tell you. [Laughter.] Twenty-three and twenty-two one-hundredths grains of pure gold make one dollar. That is the money to-day of the United States. That is the money to-day of the civilized world. Twenty-three and twenty-two one-hundredths grains of pure gold make a pure and honest dollar. [Applause.] Ah, but they say, "Cannot you make a dollar out of silver?" I say, "Yes, but when you make a dollar out of silver you have got to put a dollar's worth of silver in a silver dollar. [Applause.] If you make money out of something else, you have got to put a dollar's worth of something else into the dollar. It takes a dollar's worth of paper to make a good paper dollar. [Laughter.] It takes a dollar's worth of iron to make an iron dollar, and it takes a dollar's worth of silver to make a silver dollar.

And let me tell you another thing. You do not add to the value of gold by coining it any more than you add to the value of wheat by measuring it; any more than you add to the value of coal by weighing it. Why do you coin gold? Because every man cannot take a chemist's outfit with him. [Laughter.] He cannot carry a crucible and retort, scales and acids, and so the Government coins it, simply to certify how much gold there is in the piece.

Then there is another thing about it. It does not make any difference who issues good money. It is just as good when Lazarus issues it as when Dives issues it. No matter whether the Government is bankrupt that coins it, the money is just as good. A piece of gold coined by the Romans 2,500 years ago is just as good to-day as though Julius Caesar rode at the head of the legions. Since that time darkness has fallen over the Roman empire and it has passed into oblivion,

but the gold coined shines as brightly now as in Rome's palmiest days. [Applause.] That is good money.

But when you issue a bill or a note you want some good person behind it. Money that is money needs no guarantor; needs no backer; it is always good; no matter how many nations go down to dust, good money remains forever the same. Now, then, you know what a dollar is—23.22 grains of pure gold is \$1; no more, no less. What else is money? You see this is quite a question.

What is money? Money is a commodity. Wheat and corn are commodities. So is money. The peculiarity about money being that it is exchangeable for all commodities. But it is a commodity; nothing more, nothing less. When a man gives a bushel of wheat for a dollar in gold, he buys a dollar in gold, and the owner of a dollar in gold buys the wheat. Both are commodities, and a commodity is something that cannot be manufactured by law. [Applause.]

IN THE GREENBACK DAYS.

We want a little sense. There was a time when this Government issued greenbacks, the people called it money, but we were getting in debt. We had magnificent times. But when the time came for payment, then people said: "Do not let us pay; let us issue more greenbacks; we had good times then, let us keep it up." [Laughter and applause.] But whenever you issue your promise to pay the day of payment comes, and when that comes, hard times come along with it. Here is a man who buys a farm on a credit; buys a wagon on a credit; a piano on a credit; sends John and Mary to school on a credit. And all at once they say we want pay. "Why," he says, "gentlemen, I never had better times in the world than when I was giving these notes, and I have got plenty more on hand, and if you only had the philanthropy to take them, my family can be happy still." [Laughter and applause.]

All these things have to be paid, and they have to be paid in money, and how are you going to get your money? Primarily you have got to dig it out of the earth. Then how are you going to get it? You have got to swap your labor, your muscle, your mind, your property for that money.

Another thing, good money is always good. Good money is a ways at par, never at a premium and never at a discount. When people buy good money with bad money they say the good money is

at a premium. That is not so. The bad money is at a discount. That is what is the matter. [Applause.] Good money is always at par. And yet we have a man running for the Presidency on three platforms [laughter] with two Vice-Presidents, that says that money is the creature of law. Well, as a gentleman told me to-day, law is often the creature of money. If you can make money by law, why shouldn't we be rich? If a hundred people should settle on an island and form a Government and elect a Legislature, they could make laws, and if money is the creature of law there is no reason why they should not be as wealthy as Great Britain. [Laughter and applause.] Law is inexhaustible [laughter], and if you can turn it into money no Nation has an excuse for being poor.

GOVERNMENT CAN'T CREATE MONEY.

Then there is another thing. If the Government can make money by law—and I would like to have some good Bryan man answer the question—if the Government can make money by law, why should the Government collect taxes? [Laughter and applause.]

Let us be honest. Here is a poor man with a little yoke of cattle, cultivating forty acres of stony ground, working like a slave in the heat of summer, in the cold blasts of winter, and the Government makes him pay \$10 taxes, when, according to these gentlemen, it could issue a \$100,000 bill in a second. Issue the bill and give the fellow with the cattle a rest. [Laughter.] Is it possible for the mind to conceive anything more absurd than that the Government can create money?

Let me tell you why! The Government creates nothing. The Government does not support the people; the people have to support the Government. [Applause.] The Government is a pauper. It raises no corn, no wheat, digs no gold. It collects taxes—alms—and we have to support the Government. We give a part of what we create by our intelligence, by our strength, and the Government produces nothing, never did, and never will. We cannot depend on the Government for our bread. We have to feed the Government. Withdraw our support and where would the gentleman, the officials, be? What would become of your Presidents and Congresses, were it not for the taxes paid by the people? We—and remember it—we have to support the Government; Government cannot support us, and the idea that the Government can create money, in politics, in finance, is

just as absurd as the doctrine of perpetual motion is in mechanics; just as idiotic as the philosopher's stone; just as absurd as the fountain of eternal youth. [Applause.] Just as idiotic as the transmutation of metals; and any man, capable of believing that money can be created by law, is incapable of reasoning on any subject whatever. [Applause.]

VALUE OF GOLD.

Ah, but, they say, what makes gold valuable is that the law has made it a legal-tender. Again, gentlemen, you are arguing backwards. Because it was valuable, the law made it a legal-tender. Making it a legal-tender did not give it value; but, being valuable, the law made it a legal-tender, recognizing its value. And yet, these gentlemen say that it got all its value from the law making it a legal-tender. It is exactly the other way. The legal-tender law rests on the value of the metal. Why is gold valuable? I don't know. Why do most people love oysters? I don't know. [Applause and laughter.] Why do so many people get idiotic about election? [Applause.] I don't know. But these are facts in human nature. For some reason, or for many, people give a value to gold. And that value is recognized by the law-making power, and that is all there is to the legal-tender act.

"But," says Mr. Bryan, "our money is too good." How can money be too good? There may not be enough of it, in my neighborhood—there is not. [Laughter.] But how can it be too good? He says, "We want more money." I say, "Yes; we want good money, and the more good money we have the better."

There has been added to the money of the world \$225,000,000 in gold in the last year, dug from the miserly crevices of the rocks. Next year there will be, in all probability, \$100,000,000 more than that. We are getting more good money. But he says, "We want cheap money."

Well, why? Because the money is now so good that people hoard it. Consequently he wants to get money that nobody will want to keep [applause], money that everybody will be crazy to spend. If we get that kind of money, who will take it?

In this city, many years ago, there was an old colored man at the Grand Pacific. I met him one morning, and he looked very sad, and I said to him, "Uncle, what is the matter?" "Well," he said, "my wife ran away last night. Pretty good looking woman; a good deal younger than I am; but she has run off." And he says: "Colonel, I

want to give you my idea about marriage. If a man wants to marry a woman and have a good time, and be satisfied and secure in his mind, he wants to marry some women that no other man on God's earth would have." [Laughter and applause.]

GOOD MONEY IS WANTED.

That is the kind of money these gentlemen want in the United States. Cheap money. Do you know that the words cheap money are a contradiction in terms? Cheap money is always discounted when people find out that it is cheap. We want good money, and I do not care how much we get. But we want good money. Men are willing to toil for good money; willing to work in the mines; willing to work in the heat and glare of the furnace; willing to go to the top of the mast on the wild sea; willing to work in tenements; women are willing to sew with their eyes filled with tears for the sake of good money. [Applause.] And if anything is to be paid in good money labor is that thing. [Applause.] If any man is entitled to pure gold, it is the man who labors. Let the big fellows take cheap money. [Laughter and applause.] Let the men living next the soil be paid in gold. But I want the money of this country as good as that of any other country. [Applause.] When our money is below par we feel below par. [Applause.] I want our money, no matter how it is payable, to have the gold behind it. I want it so good that when a savage looks on it his eyes will gleam as though he looked at shining gold. That is the money I want in the United States.

I want to teach the people of the world that a Democracy is honest. [Applause.] I want to teach the people of the world that America is not only capable of self-government, but that it has the self-denial, the courage, the honor, to pay its debts to the last farthing. [Applause.] And yet we have a man running for the Presidency who appeals to all people in debt and says, Vote for me, vote for me, and you can pay your debt in 50-cent dollars. That is what he says to them. Not a very honest proposition, but that is what he says, Vote for me, and you can pay off your debts with half the money it requires now. And thereupon the creditor says to Mr. Bryan, "You are not going to cheat me, are you?" And Mr. Bryan says, "No; free coinage will make silver worth \$1.29 an ounce in gold; free silver will make the silver dollars equal to the gold dollars;" and thereupon the debtor pulls his coattail and says, "In God's name how is that going to help me?" [Laughter.]

In all his speeches he has been guilty of this contradiction—cheap silver for debtors, and silver as good as gold for creditors [applause], and you know that man has not seen the inconsistency of those two statements yet. [Laughter.] He will make the same statement probably to-morrow.

GOOD WORDS FOR FARMERS.

When he appeals to the farmers he takes the ground that they are all rascals, and what he has said about the farmers is an insult, and the farmers of Vermont and Maine have replied. [Applause.] And if the farmers of those states with their soil can be honest [laughter], I think a farmer in Illinois has no excuse for being a rascal. [Applause.] I regard the farmers as honest men, and when the sun shines and the rains fall and the frosts wait, they will pay their debts. They are good men, and I want to tell you to-night that all the stories that have been told about farmers being Populists are not true. [Applause.]

You will find the Populists in the towns, in the great cities, in the villages. All the failures, no matter for what reason, are on the Populist's side. They want to get rich by law. [Applause.] They are tired of work. Then, there is another thing I want to ask these gentlemen, because I am of an inquisitive turn of mind. [Laughter.] If you can make silver 16 to 1 by law, when, in fact, it is 31 to 1, what is the use of wasting all that silver? [Laughter.] If they can by law make it 16 to 1, why not put another clause on and make it 1 to 1. [Laughter and applause.] And if they, by fiat, can add 48 cents' worth of law to 32 cents' worth of silver and make a dollar, why not make all fiat [applause] and use the silver for forks and spoons. [A voice in the audience: "How much is in a dollar now?"] In a silver dollar? [The voice: "Yes."] Four hundred and twelve grains, standard. [The voice: "That is 16 to 1."] That is 16 to 1. Now, let me tell you why our dollars to-day are equal with gold? Because the Government of the United States has promised to redeem them in gold. [Applause.]

WHAT GOVERNMENT'S PROMISE DOES.

If there was only one grain of silver in a silver dollar, and our Government promised to keep it on an equality with gold, it would be just as good as though there were 412. [Applause.] The silver of the United States to-day, as coin, is worth between fifty-one and

fifty-two cents, and the moment the promise of the Government is withdrawn, all the dollars of the United States coined of silver will only be worth 51 cents apiece. The rest is promise, not fiat, but promise, and as long as we believe the Government is able, as long as we believe the Government has the honesty to redeem its promise, that silver will be good. [Applause.]

Now there is another trouble. A promise to pay money is not money. A promise to pay money is like a nomination for an office, and the fulfillment of that promise is like the election to that office, and on the 4th day of November even Bryan will know the difference between promise and fulfillment.

Let me tell you a little something about the history of our money. People don't know or else they forget. In 1792 we made in this country a double standard, gold and silver. And the ratio was fixed by Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton, and they both said that they fixed the ratio on the commercial price of the metals. That ratio was 15 to 1. And we started with a double standard, gold and silver. But the double standard has always been hard to maintain. France has changed the ratio more than 100 times, and, as Dogberry says, where two men ride of a horse, one must ride behind. [Laughter and applause.]

So in 1806 they found there was too much silver in the silver dollar, and Jefferson stopped the coinage, and no more was coined until 1837, and then it was that our people in Congress declared that they adopted the gold standard. They lessened in 1853 the silver in the silver coins, and again they declared that their object was to create a gold standard, and in all of the time from 1792 to 1873 there were coined in the United States only 8,000,000 silver dollars, and they all had gone out of circulation. There was too much silver, and people got them and melted them up; that is what the friends, the fathers, did for silver. They found that if they put too much silver in a dollar it would be exported, or would go to the melting pot, and so they put in a little less silver, so that it would not be taken for other purposes. That is all.

A LITTLE HISTORY.

Now, then, according to Mr. Bryan, our fathers were the friends of silver. And yet our dear old fathers in all their lives only minted 8,000,000 of these sacred dollars. [Laughter.]

Now see what the enemies of silver have done. Since 1873 the

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Now see what the enemies of silver have done. Since 1873 the

emies of silver have coined over 430,000,000 of these dollars [applause], and yet silver kept going down. We are coining now over 2,000,000 a month, and silver keeps going down. That is the difference, and we are now floating these 430,000,000 of dollars on the promise of the Government to keep them on a parity with gold. [Applause.]

I wish every one here would read the speech of Senator Sherman, delivered at Columbus a little while ago, in which he gives the history of American coinage, and every man who will read it will find that silver was not demonetized in 1873. You will find that it was demonetized in 1853, and if he will read back he will find that the apostles of silver now were in favor of the gold standard in 1873. [Applause.] Senator Jones of Nevada in 1873 voted for the law of 1873. He said, from his place in the Senate, that God had made gold the standard. He said that gold was the mother of civilization. Whether he has heard from God since or not I do not know. [Laughter and applause.] But now he is on the other side. Senator Stewart of Nevada was there at the time; he voted for the act of 1873, and said that gold was the only standard. He has changed his mind. So they have said of me that I used to talk another way, and they have published little portions of speeches, without publishing all that was said. I want to tell you to-night that I have never changed on the money question. [Applause.]

I was opposed to the demonetization of silver because I said it put an additional burden on the debtors. But here is this trouble. [A voice: "How about McKinley?"]

Mr. Ingersoll—You wait until you get some sense about money. All the debts that were due in 1873 or made in 1873, of individuals, have all been paid, or they are all outlawed. You cannot help the debtors that were injured then; you cannot help the debtors of 1873 by swindling the creditors of 1896. The demonetization of silver has been acquiesced in by the commercial world, and this Nation cannot correct a mistake of mankind.

Let me tell you how I have stood on this question. Twenty years ago, at Cooper Union, in the City of New York, in 1876, I made a speech upon this subject, among others, and I want to just tell you what I said at that time, and you will see how much I have changed.

WANTED SILVER REMONETIZED.

Supposing that silver was demonetized in 1873, I denounced it as a fraud on debtors. I wanted silver remonetized, but I wanted good dollars, and here is what I said: "I am in favor of honest money. I am in favor of gold and silver. I am in favor of paper with gold and silver behind it. I believe in silver because it is one of the great American products, and I am in favor of anything that will add to the value of an American product, but I want a silver dollar worth a gold dollar, even if you have to make it four feet in diameter." [Laughter and great applause.]

You would say my head was level then. [A voice, "It is level now." Laughter.] Yes, sir, no Government can afford to be a clipper of coins. A great Republic cannot afford to stamp a lie on silver or gold or paper. Honest money for an honest people, issued by an honest Nation.

I have been told that during the war we had plenty of money. I never saw it. I lived years without enriching my eyes with the sight of a dollar, and the greenback, unless you have the gold behind it, is no more a dollar than a warehouse receipt is wheat. You cannot make a paper dollar without taking a dollar's worth of paper. We must have paper that represents money. I want it issued by the Government, and I want behind every one of these paper dollars either a dollar in gold or a silver dollar worth 100 cents, so that every greenback under the flag can lift up its hands and swear, "I know that my redeemer liveth." [Applause.] That was where I was twenty years ago, and that is where I am to-night. For nations and individuals at all times, everywhere and forever, honesty is the best policy.

GOLD HAS NOT RISEN.

Better be an honest bankrupt than a rich thief. Poverty can hold in its hand the jewel, honor—a jewel that outshines all other gems. A thousand times better be poor and noble than rich and fraudulent. [Applause.] Ah, but they say—these statesmen—these gentlemen who give their attention to running for office [laughter]; they say gold has been cornered. Well, let us see. Whenever wheat is cornered in Chicago the price goes up. That is what they corner it for. If gold has been cornered, the rate of interest would have steadily risen. And yet the rate of interest has steadily gone down, from 1873 to 1896. [Applause.] That is a demonstration that there is no corner on gold.

[A voice in the audience, "Where has the gold gone?"] The gold is in the country, \$600,000,000 of it. [Applause.] And the gold that is in this country makes every greenback and national bank bill and silver dollar good. [Applause.] You take that gold away and they are bad. You understand that. [Applause.]

Now, then, my friends, suppose we had silver money? How would you keep them from cornering that? How would you keep the Vanderbilts, the Rockefellers and the Astors away from silver? If it is good, they will get it. [Laughter.] If it is not good, you don't want it. They have just as good a chance to corner silver as they have had to corner gold. The silver will be easier cornered, because it is only worth one-sixteenth as much. But, say these gentlemen—you know they love the poor—

[A voice, "Free coinage will bring prosperity."]

Mr. Ingersoll—"Free coinage will bring prosperity." I don't know. I am not a prophet nor the son of a prophet, and perhaps not a very profitable son. [Laughter.] But I can see into the future as far as any Populist. [Laughter.] Now, let us see what kind of prosperity free coinage will bring, because I want you all to know that I want prosperity. [Applause.] That is my failing.

ON A SILVER BASIS.

Free coinage of silver, that is, for the silver of the world, would, first of all, bring us to a silver basis. Our money would be silver. We have got \$600,000,000 in gold. That would instantly go out of circulation. There is only about thirteen hundred millions of specie and currency in the United States. There would be about \$700,000,000 left, a part of that greenbacks. If we come to a silver basis, then the greenbacks are all to be redeemed in silver, and they would only be worth 50 cents on the dollar. All your national bank bills, secured by Government bonds, would go to 50 cents on the dollar, because free silver means the payment of all bonds in silver.

And what else? All your glorious silver dollars would be cut square in two. Be worth 50 cents apiece. And how would that leave us? It would leave us with only \$350,000,000 in value of currency, specie and paper, and that would be \$5 a head for all the people of the United States, and this would be done in the name of prosperity. What else would happen? Every man living on an income would

have to live on just half; every soldier's pension would be cut dead in two; every one.

And what else? Every man that had a debt would try to collect it in gold before the law caught him. Every one. Business would stop. No money; panic would come, and bankruptcy almost universal; and that is what these gentlemen call the prosperity of free coinage. There are millions of people in the United States who are creditors and debtors. They want to be paid, and they want to pay the men they owe. Nobody can be helped by free coinage except the few people who would pay their debts in debased coin. Some say that it would help the mine owners. It would not. Coining this bullion into dollars would not increase its value, because you could coin the bullion of the whole world and the supply would be greater than the demand. Have free coinage to-morrow, and there is not a silver mine owner that would make a dollar, not one, by changing it into American coin. It would only be worth what the bullion is worth in the open market.

Now, what I want to say to you to-night is, in this country we want good money—good, honest—and there never was any real prosperity for a nation or an individual without honesty, without integrity, and it is our duty to preserve the reputation of the great Republic. [Applause.] Let us have sense enough to vote for our own interests. We did not have it in 1892. [Laughter.] I hope we have learned something in the last four years. So remember that money is something that cannot be made; that it had to be found. Recollect that money cannot be created by law. Recollect that you cannot make something out of nothing. Just keep that in your minds.

THE TARIFF QUESTION.

Then we have another question. And the next question is one of tariff, one of protection. The question is, Shall we keep the American market for ourselves, or give it away to other folks? [Applause.] Now, let me tell you something. A nation that sells raw material will grow ignorant and poor. A nation that manufactures will grow intelligent and rich. [Voices in the audience: "That's right."]

It takes muscle to dig ore. It takes a mind to manufacture a locomotive. And in this country we want to give work to brains, as well as to hands. We want to raise great men and great women; that is

the best crop that we can raise. [Laughter and applause.] We want to develop the brains of America. We want to give scope to the ingenuity and the imagination of our people. And our people stand in the same relation to invention that the ancient Greeks did to sculpture. We are the greatest Nation of inventors upon the earth. I want the things that we use made here in our own land. [Applause.] I want to see the factories running. I want to see the furnaces hot with flame. And I tell you to-night that the smoke rising from the fires, that smoke forms the only clouds on which has ever been seen the bow of American promise. [Applause.] Keep the wheels turning; keep the shuttles flying; give work to labor's countless hands. Take advantage of the forces of nature; that is what we want.

We have tried what they call the Democratic tariff—a bill passed by perfidy and dishonor, according to Cleveland; and he was not mean enough to sign it or brave enough to veto it. [Laughter.] We have tried that. In 1892 I said if Cleveland was elected he would cost the people of the United States \$5,000,000,000; I underestimated the loss. He has put this Government in debt \$500,000,000 more. He has cost the people of this country seven or eight thousand million of dollars, and that is only by a threat of free trade. There is an old song, "We Put the Wrong Man Off at Buffalo." [Laughter.] We have got another song, "We Took the Wrong Man on at Buffalo." [Laughter.]

MARKETS OF THE WORLD.

I want everything that we use manufactured in America. Ah, but, say these free-traders, we want the markets of the world. Well, gentlemen, what is to hinder? We have got no export duty. Iron is as cheap here as anywhere on earth. You can get timber here as well as any other place. You can send your reapers and mowers and thrashing machines and churns to any mart in the world. Why don't you do it? I can tell you why. Because in the Republic, under our flag, wages are too high. That is the reason they cannot do it. And what keeps wages high? Protection. [Applause.] And why do they want free trade? For the sake of low wages. Labor makes things valuable; that is, intelligent labor. A ton of iron ore is worth only a few cents in the ground. Lime is worth only a few cents in the cliff; coal is worth only a few cents in the ground; and you make a ton of steel rails worth \$25, of which \$23.50 is labor.

The raw metal in material only \$1.50. A locomotive worth

\$10,000, the raw material not worth \$50. A steamship worth \$500,000, the raw material not worth \$5,000. All the rest is labor. And if labor is higher here than in the rest of the world, we must save the American market for the American mechanic. (Great applause.) That is good sense. (Laughter and applause.) And even if we have to pay more for it here, it is better. I have said a hundred times, suppose you can buy a ton of steel rails in England for \$20 in gold, and you buy it, how does the account stand? You have a ton of steel rails and Great Britain has \$20 of our gold. Suppose you buy the ton of steel rails here and give \$25 in gold then how does the account stand? The United States has got the gold and the rails, too, both here under our flag. (Applause.) That is the reason I am for it. And, do you know what is the matter with the country to-day? We want more business. Talk about charity! business is the finest charity ever conceived of. Business that feeds the hungry, that clothes the naked; business that wipes the tears from widows' eyes and orphans' cheeks; business that puts dimples of joy in the cheeks of sorrow; business that puts a roof above the heads of the homeless, business that fills the world with art and song, the land with happy homes. What we want is not charity; we do not want Populistic philanthropy or fiat philosophy, and we don't want any silver swindles. We want business. That is what we want. (Applause.) Wind and water are our servants. Let them work. Electricity and steam are our slaves. Let them toil. Start the fires and let labor, with its countless hands, have work, and where there is work there is no want. That is what I want. I want protection and prosperity. (Applause.) I want good sense and business. Do not deceive us with debased coin. Give us good money, the life-blood of business, and let it flow freely through the veins and arteries of commerce. That is what we want; that is what we want—business. We won't have it unless we have confidence in the future, and no sensible man in the United States will have any confidence in an administration to be governed by the new Democracy. (Applause.) We want credit. Credit is based on confidence, and when we have good times, you know, everybody, nearly, has credit. Every man's mouth is a mint that issues dollars.

When a good fellow with a good job goes to the grocer and says, "Give me \$5 worth of sugar, \$5 worth of coffee; charge it," he has added \$10 to the currency of the United States. (Applause.) He has inflated the money; and when another buys a horse and gives

his note for \$100 he has inflated the money. And afterward, when times get hard and they want credit, they say money is scarce. There is just as much money as there was before. Credit is scarce. That is the trouble.

Confidence is gone, and yet they are going to give prosperity 16 to 1. [Applause.] What does that mean? That will mean sixteen men for one dollar [laughter], sixteen men hunting one job. That is what it will mean. And of the sixteen fifteen failures, bankrupts.

QUESTION OF LAW OR MOB.

And now, what is the next question? Is this a Government of law? If we can't make money by law, can we keep the peace by law? That is the question. Is this a Government of the people? Can the people make laws that the people are bound to obey? Shall we be bound by the decision of the highest tribunal, or shall we depend upon the mob? That is the question. I hate the mob spirit. Civilized men obey the law. Civilized men believe in order. Civilized men believe that a man that makes property by industry and economy has the right to keep it. [Applause.] Civilized men believe that that man has the right to use it as he desires, and they will judge of his character by the manner in which he uses it. If he endeavors to assist his fellow man he will have the respect and admiration of his fellow men. But we want a Government of law. We do not want labor questions settled by violence and blood.

I want to civilize the capitalist so that he will be willing to give what labor is worth. I want to educate the workingman so he will be willing to receive what labor is worth. I want to civilize them both so that degree that they can settle all of their disputes in the high court of reason.

But when you tell me that they can stop the commerce of the nation, then you preach the gospel of the bludgeon, the gospel of torch and bomb. I do not believe in that religion. I believe in a religion of kindness, reason and law. The law is the supreme will of the supreme people, and we must obey it or we go back to savagery and black night. (Applause.) I stand by the courts. I stand by the President who endeavors to preserve the peace. (Applause and cries of "Good!") I am against mobs; I am against lynchings (applause), and I believe it is the duty of the Federal Government to protect all of its citizens at home and abroad; and I want a Government power-

ful enough to say to the Governor of any State where they are murdering American citizens without process of law—I want the Federal Government to say to the Governor of that State: "Stop; stop shedding the blood of American citizens. And if you can not stop it, we can." (Great applause.) I believe in a Government that will protect the lowest, the poorest, and weakest as promptly as the mightiest and strongest. (Applause.) That is my Government. This old doctrine of State sovereignty perished in the flame of civil war, and I tell you to-night that that infamous lie was surrendered to Grant with Lee's sword at Appomattox. (Applause.)

CLASS AGAINST CLASS.

Then there is another thing. One candidate for the Presidency is trying to poison the poor against the rich simply because they are rich. He hates bondholders. Who are the bondholders? Bondholders of the government, bondholders of the railroad companies. And who are the bondholders of the railroad companies? They are the men that advanced every dollar to build every mile of railway in the United States. They are the men who paid every man that cast a shovelful of dirt. They are the men that paid every man that cut down a tie in the forest, and paid every man that dug the ore, paid every man that melted it in the works and cast it into form. They are the bondholders, a set of wretches. [Laughter.]

Who are the bondholders of the Government? During the war we sold our bonds, and people who believed that the North would triumph bought these bonds, and every man that bought a bond added to the credit of the great Republic. (Applause.)

Very few men own them now who bought them then. They have been bought many times since, and all who own them now paid, with the exception of a few bonds that were pawned by the President, about \$1.20. (Laughter and applause.) And what did they pay it in? They paid it in gold; every dollar. And let me tell you now, every cent that has been borrowed in the United States since 1873 has been borrowed in gold, and it is no great hardship to pay it back in the money that you borrowed. If they say that money has increased so in value, then the fellow who borrowed it should have kept it and made himself rich. Mr. Bryan hates the rich. Would he like to be rich? Mr. Bryan hates bondholders. Would he like to have a million in bonds? Mr. Bryan hates the successful. Has he an ambition to a

failure (laughter); if he has, wait until the 4th of November, and he will be satisfied. (Tremendous applause).

ADVANTAGE OVER THE RICH.

Why should we hate the rich? Some rich men are good, and some poor men are mean. Some poor men are good, and some rich men are mean. You cannot like a man just because he is poor, or you cannot hate him just because he is rich.

And why should we envy the rich? Let me tell you something. The Vanderbilts and the Astors and the Rockefellers never drank any colder water than I have. [Laughter.] They never smoked better cigars. [Laughter.] They never ate lighter biscuits or better potatoes, or drank better Illinois wine than I have [laughter], than you have. We know the ecstasies of love as well as they. We know the love of wife and child and friend, and in some respects we have the advantage. [Laughter.] They fear and we hope. They are at the top, and they are afraid of falling. We are close to the ground, and we hope to climb. [Laughter.] And why is a man to be envied simply because he has got more than he can use? What good is that?

What is the use of carrying 100 canes? What is the use of having more than you can possibly spend?

Let me tell you another thing. Lots of these people are owned by the property they think they possess. [Laughter.] The property owns them, and it will get them up at four o'clock in the morning, and it will make them work like slaves until night.

They are afraid every minute that somebody is going to steal it. They have no confidence in the friendship of man or woman. They think they are all wanting their money. They think their children are anxious to go to their funeral. [Laughter.] That all their heirs would like to look on their mausoleum. [Laughter.] That is the trouble with them. And another trouble is, that most of them are insane. They don't know when they have got enough. What would you think of a man that had 500,000 neckties? What would you think of that man getting up at 3 o'clock in the morning, going through the snow and slush until 10 o'clock at night, to get him another necktie. [Laughter.]

HE HATES THE TRUSTS.

With all my heart I hate the trusts and syndicates that conspire

to rob honest people, and I want the law against them enforced. (Applause.) But I have nothing against the man who makes money by honest methods. I am glad to live in a country where people can get rich. (Applause.) It is a spur in the side of ambition. The poor always have hope, and if not for themselves at least for their children. Why should we envy the successful? Why should we hate them? And why should we array class against class? It is all wrong. For instance, here is a young man, and he is industrious. He is in love with a girl around the corner. She is in his brain all day, and in his heart all night (laughter), and while he is working he is thinking, and he gets a little ahead, and they get married, and he is an honest man. And he gets credit, and the first thing you know he has a good business of his own and he gets rich; educates his children, and his old age is filled with content and love. Good. His companions bask in the sunshine of idleness. They have wasted their time, wasted their wages in dissipation, and when the winter of life comes, when the snow falls on the barren fields of the wasted days, then, shivering with cold, pinched with hunger, they curse the man who has succeeded. Thereupon they all vote for Bryan. (Great applause).

LET THE RICH SPEND MONEY.

The citizens of America should be friends. We have no permanent classes. The children of the rich to-day may work for the man who worked for them. Sons of millionaires may be mendicants, sons of mendicants may be millionaires. [Applause and cries of "That's right."] The great Republic opens every avenue to distinction and wealth to her children. That is why I like the country. That is why I don't want it dishonored. I want no class feeling. Blessed is that country where the rich are extravagant and the poor are economical. [Laughter.] Miserable that country where the rich are economical and the poor are extravagant. A rich spendthrift is a blessing. A rich miser is a curse. Extravagance is a splendid form of charity. Let the rich spend, let them build, let them give work to their fellow men, and I will find no fault with their wealth, provided they obtained it honestly.

Then there is another thing. They are trying to fan the flames of hate between the South and West on one side and the East on the other. Why should we of Illinois hate the East? Give us some reason. Why should we hate the East? They never loaned us a dol-

la that we didn't borrow [laughter]; they never loaned us a dollar that we did not make the application—never one. And their money has helped to civilize and build up the West, and this city of Chicago, the wonder of the world, the second city on the continent, was built up by Eastern energy and Eastern money, and Eastern men. (Applause.) Why should we hate the East? There is where we got a good many of our mistakes, and that is where we got a good deal of our information.

I like the East and I love the West. I love the Republic. There are some people in it that I do not admire (laughter), but I believe in giving them a chance, and if they have not the sense to take it their children may.

MUST MAKE A CHOICE.

Now, then, we have got to make our choice. I want the Republic one and undivisible. (Great applause.) Then you have got to choose between McKinley and Bryan. It won't take you long to make up your minds. I admit that Bryan is honest. If he was not his intellectual pride would not allow him to say what he does. He is honest. He is a Populist, a Socialist, and a new Democrat. (Great laughter.) His head is filled with vagaries and his brain is a kind of political insane asylum without any keeper. (Laughter.)

McKinley is a tried man. McKinley has a level head. He is sensible, candid. He is an American in every drop of his blood. (Applause.) He was a soldier when Bryan was in his mother's arms. He was a soldier, he is a statesman, he is the apostle of protection (applause), he knows the road that leads to prosperity, he knows the way to business, and he understands honorable methods.

A few years ago he made a speech at Cleveland on protection, and I read it, one of the few speeches I have read in my life, and it was the best speech I have read or ever heard on the subject of protection. (Applause.) He marshaled his facts with as much skill as Grant or Caesar ever marshaled forces in the field. (Applause.)

His speech had foundation, proportion, and ever since I read it I have had profound respect for the intelligence of William McKinley. (Applause.) He has made many speeches during this campaign. He has made no mistake. He has not made one that did not add to his popularity. (Applause.) He has not made one that has not added to the respect the American people have for him. (Applause.)

MR. BRYAN'S CABINET.

Shall we take Mr. Bryan? [Cries of "No."] Imagine Mr. Bryan's Cabinet. [Laughter.] For Secretary of State, Ignatius Donnelly [laughter]; for Secretary of War, Tillman; Secretary of the Treasury, "Coin" Harvey [continued laughter]; Secretary of the Interior, Henry George; Attorney General, Governor Altgeld [great laughter, mingled with hisses]; Secretary of Agriculture, George Fred Williams; Postmaster General, Pfeffer and his whiskers; for the Secretary of the Navy, Coxey. [Continued laughter and applause.] Then he could keep off the grass. Then would come the millennium, the cryptogram and the Bacon cipher, the State saloons, free silver, single tax, fiat money, destruction of banks and credit, bondholders and creditors mobbed, courts closed, debts repudiated, and the rest of the folks made rich by law. (Applause.) I think we had better take McKinley. If he should die a capable, honest man would take his place (applause)—Garret A. Hobart. If Bryan should be elected and die — (A voice: "No danger.")

Colonel Ingersoll—Imagine sitting in the seat of Abraham Lincoln, Thomas Watson. (Laughter.) That is enough to give a patriot the nightmare. Let us stand by McKinley. Another thing: You have got to choose between parties. And you choose between parties as you do between men. Parties have characters. You have got to choose between the Republican party and the new Democratic party.

In 1861 hundreds of thousands of Democrats held country above party and came to the defense of Lincoln's administration. In 1896 we expect hundreds and hundreds of thousands of good Democrats to come to the support of McKinley and honest money.

The new Democratic party is worse than the old, and that is saying a good deal. The new Democratic party, with its allies, the Populists and Socialists, represent the follies, the mistakes, and the absurdities of a thousand years. They are in favor of everything that cannot be done. Whatever is wrong. They think creditors are swindlers, and debtors who refuse to pay their debts are honest men. Good money is bad and poor money is good. A promise is better than a performance. They desire to abolish facts, punish success, and reward failure. They are worse than the old. And yet I want to be honest. I am like the old Dutchman who made a speech in Arkansas. He said: "Ladies and gentlemen, I must tell you the truth. There are good and bad in all parties except the Democratic party, and in

the Democratic party there is bad and worse." (Laughter). And I want to be honest. There are hundreds and thousands of good, patriotic Democrats that hold the country above party, and they will vote for McKinley.

And there are many thousands of them in the State of Illinois that will vote for John R. Tanner. [Applause.] We want a man for Governor of this State that is in favor of sound money. We want a man that is in favor of protection. We want a man on whom we can rely. We want no Socialist, no dreamer, no schemer, no man that lies by deceiving others. No, sir.

REPUBLICAN PARTY IS SAFE.

You have got to choose between parties. The Republican party has been tried in peace and war, and the history of the Republican party is the glory of the great Republic. [Applause.] The Republican party has the enthusiasm of youth and the wisdom of age, and besides that it has the genius of administration. Stick to the Republican party. It has saved the life of this Nation. It kept our country on the map of the world. It kept our flag in the air. It made our country free, and this one fact fills all the heavens with light. The Republican party is the friend of labor. Labor is the basis on whose shoulder rests the great superstructure of civilization and the great dome of science and of art. [Applause.] Labor is the great oak, labor is the great pillar, and the deft and cunning hands of labor have filled the world with things of use and beauty. The Republican party is the friend of labor, and all my sympathies are with the men who toil. The Republican party is the conscience of the nineteenth century. [Applause.] I am proud to belong to it. Vote the Republican ticket and you will be happy here, and if there is another life you will be happy there. [Applause.]

I had an old friend down in Woodford County, Charley Mulidore. He won a coffin on Lincoln's election. He took it home and every birthday he called in his friends. They had a little game of "sixty six" on the coffin lid. When the game was over they opened the coffin and took out the things to eat and drink and had a festival, and the minister in the little town, hearing of it, was scandalized, and he went to Charley Mulidore and he says: "Mr. Mulidore, how can you make light of such awful things?" "What things?" "Why," he says, "Mr. Mulidore, what did you do with that coffin?" He says, "In a little while you die, and you come to the day of judgment." "Well,

Mr. Preacher, when I come to that day of judgment they will say, 'What is your name?' I will tell them. And they will say, 'Mr. Mulidore, are you a Christian?' 'No, sir, I was a Republican (laughter), and the coffin I got out of this morning I won on Abraham Lincoln's election.' And then they will say, 'Walk in, Mr. Mulidore, walk in, walk in; here is your halo and there is your harp.'"

POINTS OUT THE WAY.

If you want to be happy hereafter, vote the Republican ticket and keep good company. That is a great thing. (Laughter.) Vote with the party of Lincoln—Lincoln, the greatest of our mighty dead (applause); Lincoln, the merciful. Vote with the party of Grant, the greatest soldier of his century (applause). As great a general as ever planted on the field of war the torn and tattered flag of victory. (Applause.) Vote for the party of Sherman and Sheridan, of Thomas and Garfield, and Blaine and Oliver P. Morton. (Applause.) But there is no time to repeat even the names of the thinkers, the philosophers, the statesmen, the orators, the soldiers, that have made the Republican party glorious forever. Fellow citizens, make up your minds to-night. Now is the accepted time. (Laughter.) Vote for good money. Vote for integrity. Vote against silver swindles and repudiation. Vote for protection and prosperity. Vote against free-trade depreciation and deficit. Vote for business and good wages. Vote against idleness and hunger.

Vote for the enforcement of the law, vote to uphold court and Presidents in the preservation of peace; vote to keep contracts sacred; vote to preserve life, property and liberty; vote against the mob; vote against the dagger, the torch, and the bomb; vote for law and order; vote for the glory of the great Republic. (Great applause.) We love our country. It is dear to us for its reputation through the world; for its credit in all the marts of trade, for the glory of the past, for the liberty of the present, and for the hope of the future. Let us swear that we will preserve our country with its honor unstained, its credit unimpaired; that we will preserve it for ourselves, our children, and their fair children yet to be. (Great applause and cheering.)



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